

# MONARCHIAL PROPAGANDA GAINS GROUND IN CHINA; PRESIDENT INSISTS HE'LL REFUSE CROWN

Powerful Society Cites Case of United States As Instance of Necessity of Abolishing Republican Form of Government—Manifesto Regarded As Feeler.

Peking, Sept. 27.—The Associated Press cable dispatches of August 15, disclosing that the project of a shift back to a monarchial form of government was under discussion in China, may now be elaborated with the full text of interesting documents bearing on the matter.

Although President Yuan Shi-Kai has denied that he desires to be Emperor, and several of his prominent supporters have authorized the statement that the President would decline the imperial title if it were offered to him, China is still stirred by the extent to which the monarchial movement has gained headway. The manifesto published on August 16 by the "Society for Peace and Restoration of the Republic," the advocating of the restoration of the monarchy, and signed by Yang Tu, head of the Hankow Development Plan, and other prominent supporters of Yuan Shi-Kai, is generally regarded by Chinese of all parties as a feeler thrown out to determine how the public would accept the idea of an Emperor. In some high quarters, both Chinese and foreign, it is believed that the restoration of the monarchy is a necessary condition of the development of China, and that the Emperor will be the one to lead the country.

For months previous to the appearance of the above mentioned manifesto there had been a quiet campaign, conducted in Peking and other cities for the establishment of a monarchy. The manifesto itself, as translated from the Chinese by the "Peking Gazette," reads as follows:

"During the Revolution of 1911 the racial prejudices of our people were so aroused that their attention was entirely concentrated on the removal of a certain section of the population and the idea of giving the least consideration to the future political affairs of the country. They hastily adopted the republican form of government without giving any thought to the suitability of this country. When a proposal to this effect was made by a few people, others followed blindly without further questioning its advisability. The result was that the people of this country were plunged into a state of confusion and trouble, and the future of the country, but to prevent dissension and other troubles, which would have further endangered the existence of the country, were compelled to accept this proposal though reluctantly.

"Since the abdication of the T'ang Imperial House, followed by a period of anarchy, the regime of the provisional government and finally the establishment of the present government, there have been numerous crises in the government and many unspeakable sufferings of the people, which are a result of the failure of every class of our people. If a proper measure is not devised to remedy the situation, there will be endless trouble in this country.

"In such countries as Argentina, Peru, Chile and other Republics in South and Central America, party feuds have been the order of the day, and such quarrels frequently culminated in civil war. In Portugal the recent change of government from monarchy to a republic has been immediately followed by deadly internecine strife, and the worse case of all is in Mexico. Since the abdication of Diaz, but count not on him settling with civil strife till the present day. Their party leaders have struggled for supremacy with one another with military forces. When they win they occupy the land and when they are defeated they are driven to commit looting, incendiarism and massacre. Finally the whole nation is divided into five camps with as many presidents, and the country is practically a lawless anarchy. As we are a newly established republic, we should take Mexico as our object lesson.

"The United States of America is the senior Republic of the world, and her great students of politics, Dr. Goodnow, has stated that a monarchy is a better form of government than Republicanism, and according to his opinion, a monarchial form of government is most indispensable for the present for China. This view has been shared by not a few notable scholars of other countries. As Dr. Goodnow is a citizen of a Republic, he is most competent to make such a statement than others. His words are, 'the conditions are different in China and America and it is impossible to transplant one system from one country to another.' If foreigners who are in sympathy with China have so openly and loudly laid before us their unprejudiced views, can we people of China leave everything to fate, raising not a hand to find a fundamental solution for this important problem? Where is your patriotism? Where is your duty as a citizen of the country, if you, for fear of adverse criticism or other dangers, remain silent and indecisive?

"We are the people of this country, the prosperity or decline of this country is nothing less than the prosperity or decline of ourselves. Therefore we cannot bear to sit silent and see the country being obliterated without making any attempt to save it. We have therefore gathered a number of our sympathizers and started this society with a view of devising means for keeping peace in this country. We shall each give our views concerning the future of our country and the advantages and disadvantages accruing from the Republican form of government for general discussion. There are not a few wise and far-sighted people in this country, and if they are kind enough to condescend to join us in the discussion of these points, we shall extend them our hearty welcome. Promoters: Yang Tu, Sun Tu-yun, Ten Puh, Liu Shi-pel, Hu Ying."

The extent to which Yuan Shi-Kai stood back of or was interested in the promotion of this manifesto is still a matter of speculation. An evidently inspired article, however, recently appeared in the Peking papers in the following form, purporting to give the words of President Yuan Shi-Kai:

"At an audience with the President, a certain high official of the government remarked that lately a certain class of people had promoted the Chou An Hui ('Peace Society') to discuss the question of the monarchial form of government and the latter asked the President whether the government ought to take any steps to interfere with the movement.

"The President replied: 'Within recent years, although there has not been a society organized for a meeting held to discuss this question, yet such reports have so frequently reached my ears that they now no longer attract my attention. Since the outbreak of the European war, the conventional views of the whole world have undergone a great change. Party feuds of a most bloody character in Mexico have made a great impression upon the mind of both Chinese and foreigners, who now begin to pay attention to the advantages and disadvantages which will accrue from the newly established Republican form of government. Being in this position, I only care for the realization of a Republican form of government and shall refrain from any proposal other than this.

"A few days ago, a certain doctor interviewed me and gave me an exhaustive dissertation on the monarchial and republican forms of government. I answered him that being a President of the Republic, I was not in a position to discuss these questions. The fundamental principle underlying Republicanism is to collect the thoughts, ideas and the abilities of the majority of the people in order to work for the happiness and well-being of the majority of the people. Judging by this, the organization of such a society to discuss this question is not in conflict with republican principles. Then in what way can the Government interfere with them?

"On more than one occasion I have made my intention known to the public that I have no desire to be a monarch nor the office of a president. The desire for a life of retirement haunts my memory. No matter what views are entertained by the public, I have no desire to discuss this question. I have no cause to fear that I should be suspected by the public. Individually I have my person, my family, my estates and my relatives and what I wish is peace and happiness for them. I cannot leave them in neglect. As to the people of the country, they also have their person, their family, their property and their relatives. It is quite reasonable for them to discuss the best method which will insure them permanent peace and happiness, as it concerns their vital interests. Moreover, this question concerns the life and death of four hundred million people, and since I am a member of the Presidential office how can I interfere with such a movement, merely for the reason that such a movement would tend to increase my popularity to the public as a person who entertains some doubtful and suspicious ambition, while in reality I have neither intention nor aspiration for the same. We may regard such a movement as a movement exclusively belonging to the learned class. If it does not tend to disturb the order of the country, there is no necessity for the Government to take measures to interfere with it.

One other interesting document following the manifesto is the full statement by Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University, who is one of the foreign advisers to Yuan Shi-Kai, and in which what was actually his memorandum to the President of China on the subject of establishing a monarchy. The statement fills a page and a half in the Chinese newspapers, or about five columns in English newspaper type.

Dr. Goodnow begins by saying: 'The determination in a given country of the form of government established therein has seldom if ever been the result of the conscious choice of the people of that country or even the choice of its most intelligent classes. The establishment on the one hand of a monarchy or on the other hand of a republic has been almost invariably due to influence almost beyond human control. The former history of the country, its traditions and social and economic conditions all have either favored the adoption of an institution which has been adopted, or in case the form of government at first adopted has not been in harmony therewith have soon brought it about which the form is replaced by one which is better suited to the country's needs.

"In other words, the form of government which a country usually possesses is for the most part determined by the necessities of practical life. Among the contributing causes which fix forms of government, one of the most important is force. Almost all monarchies thus owe their origin in last analysis to the exertions of some one man who has been able to organize the material power of the country in such a way as to overcome all competitors. If he has able sons or male relatives, if he has ruled wisely and if the conditions of the country have been such as to favor monarchial rule, he may be able to establish a dynasty which will govern a long period successfully during the country's life.

Dr. Goodnow then goes on to explain the satisfactory arrangement for proper succession on the death of the King of England; he gives a resume of conditions which led to the establishment of the Republic of the United States; he tells of the French Republic; he describes how Central and South American Republics attempted to imitate the French and American Republics, some with a measure of success, but from many with disaster. He then says: 'Little hope may be entertained of the successful solution of the question of presidential succession in a country where the intelligence of the people is not high and where the people do not acquire political wisdom by sharing in the exercise of political power under some form of constitutional government. Where such conditions do not exist a

republican form of government—that is a government in which the executive is not hereditary—generally leads to the worst possible form of government, namely, that of the military dictator. The best that can be hoped for under such a system is periods of peace alternating with periods of disorder during which the rival claimants for political power are striving among themselves for the control of the government.

At the present time, it may further be remarked, it is very doubtful whether the great powers of the European world will permit the government of the military dictator permanently to exist, if it continues to be accompanied by the disorders which have been its accout in the past. The economic interests of the European world have grown to be so comprehensive, European capital and European commercial and industrial enterprises have become so widespread in their ramifications that the governments of the foreign countries interested, although caring little what may be the form of government adopted by the nations with which they deal, are more and more inclined to insist, where they have the power, that conditions of peace shall be maintained in order that they may receive what they consider to be the proper returns on their investments. This insistence they are more and more inclined to carry to the point of actual destruction of the political independence of offending nations. The direct administration of their government if this is necessary to the attainment of the ends desired.

"It is therefore becoming less and less likely that countries will be permitted in the future to work out their own salvation through disorder and revolution, as may have been the case during the past century with some of the South American states. Under modern conditions countries must devise some method of government under which peace will be maintained or they will have to submit to foreign control.

"The question naturally presents itself—How do these considerations affect the present political situation in China? 'China is a country which has for centuries been accustomed to autocratic rule. The intelligence of the great mass of its people is not high owing to the lack of schools. The Chinese have never been accorded much participation in the work of government. The result is that the political capacity of the Chinese people is not large. The change from autocratic to republican government made four years ago was too violent to permit the establishment of any very strong hopes of its immediate success. Had the T'ang dynasty not been an alien rule which it had long been the wish of the Chinese people to overthrow, there can be little doubt that it would have been better to retain the dynasty in power and gradually to introduce constitutional government in accordance with the plans outlined by the commission appointed for this purpose. But the hatred of alien rule made this impossible and the establishment of a republic seemed at the time of the overthrow of the Manchus to be the only alternative available.

"It cannot, therefore, be doubted that China has during the last few years been attempting to introduce constitutional government under less favorable auspices than would have been the case had there been a dynasty firmly present which the people regarded with respect and to which they were loyal. The great problem of the Presidential succession would seem still to be unsolved. The present arrangement cannot be regarded as satisfactory. When the present President lays down the cares of office there is great danger that the difficulties which attend the introduction of succession in countries conditioned as is China will present themselves. The attempt to solve these difficulties may lead to disorders which if long continued may seriously imperil the independence of the country.

"What under these conditions should be the attitude of those who have the welfare of China at heart? Should they advocate the continuance of the Republic or should they propose the establishment of a monarchy?

"These are difficult questions to answer. It is of course not susceptible of doubt that a monarchy is better suited than a republic to China. China's history and traditions, her social and economic conditions, her relations with foreign powers all make it probable that the country would develop that form of government which it must develop if it is to preserve its independence as a state, more easily as a monarchy than as a republic.

"But it is to be remembered that the change from a republic to a monarchy can be successfully made only on the following conditions:

"First, 'That the change does not meet with such opposition either on the part of the Chinese people or of foreign powers as will lead to the recurrence of the disorders which the present republican government has successfully put down. The present peaceful conditions of the country should on no account be imperiled.

"Second, 'The change from republic to monarchy would be of little avail if the law of succession is not so that there will be no doubt as to the successor. The successor should not be left to the Crown to determine for the reasons which have already been set forth at length. It has probably of course true that the authority of an emperor would be more respected than the authority of a president. The people have been accustomed to an emperor. They hardly know what a President is. At the same time it would be doubtful if the increasing of authority resulting from the change from President to Emperor would be sufficient to justify the change. If the question of the change were not so securely fixed as to permit of no doubt, for this is the one greatest advantage of the monarchy over the republic.

"Third, 'It is very doubtful whether the change from republic to monarchy would be of any lasting value to China, if provision is not made for the development under the monarchy of some form of constitutional government. If China is to take her proper place among the nations as a free and equal power, she must develop among the people and the government must increase in strength in order to resist foreign aggression. Her people must develop the necessary patriotism unless they are given a participation in the government than they have had in the past. The government never will acquire the necessary strength unless again the people feel that they have a part in the government. They must in some way be brought to think of the government as an organization which is trying to benefit them and over whose actions they exercise some control.

"Whether the conditions which have been set forth as necessary for such a change from republic to monarchy as has been suggested are present, must of course be determined by those who both know the country and are responsible for its future development. If these conditions are present there can be little doubt that the change would be of benefit to the country."

Still another phase of the situation is the comment that has been aroused on the part of Peking newspapers. The Gazette, discussing editorially the manifesto of the Society for Peace, accepts the document somewhat suspiciously as do other Chinese newspapers. The Gazette says, in part: "We venture to suggest for the consideration of the Society for Peace the necessity of looking at this grave question from the double view of internal peace and foreign opinion and possible action. It is not to be doubted that if the honorable men who are associated with the Society for Peace were convinced that a monarchial form of restoration in China would cut at the very roots of internal peace and order in the country and expose us to the not improbable application of the Japanese doctrine of political tutelage, they would be the first of our sagacious patriots to condemn the great change that is now the object of their policy."

"And, showing the country as they must, is there any reason to believe that the extinction of the republic on the morrow of the Japanese coup, with all its brutality and humiliation and the sinister rumors as to its origin would not stir the country—particularly the South—in ways that might prove disastrous and fatal to a 'strong and united China' And then what about the promise we have made to the nation to give to America and the other great powers of the world? We have declared to them that this country shall be ruled as a republic; and it is certain that unless the nation of the nation is clear on the subject, any reversal of that declaration will be resented by America, even though the theoretical basis of it rests on the alleged dictum of a distinguished American."

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with the Board of Assessors, a sworn statement of all taxable property owned by such person, firm or corporation, in the City of Bridgeport, on specially printed lists furnished by the Assessors. Such lists must be filed during the

**MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1915**

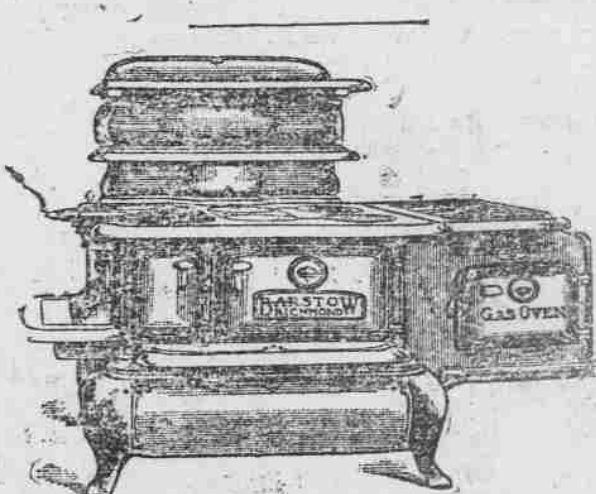
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**TAX PAYERS**

Every person, firm or corporation, Resident or Non-Resident, liable to taxation on real or personal property, in the Town of Stratford on September 1st, 1915. MUST FILE with the Board of Assessors, a sworn statement of all taxable property owned by such person, firm or corporation in the Town of Stratford on specially printed lists furnished by the Assessors. Such lists must be filed during the month of September, 1915. Failure to do so will compel the Assessors to make out such list from the best information obtainable, to which a penalty of ten per cent. will be added as by the law required. Each parcel of real estate must be described by metes and bounds; by street number or lot number; all buildings thereon must be entered separately from the land. Failure to file a list deprives the owner of the right to appeal to the Board of Relief. Hours: 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. and from 7 p. m. to 8:30 p. m., commencing September 7th. BOARD OF ASSESSORS, Stratford, Conn., August 26, 1915. L21 as\* 2 4 6

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